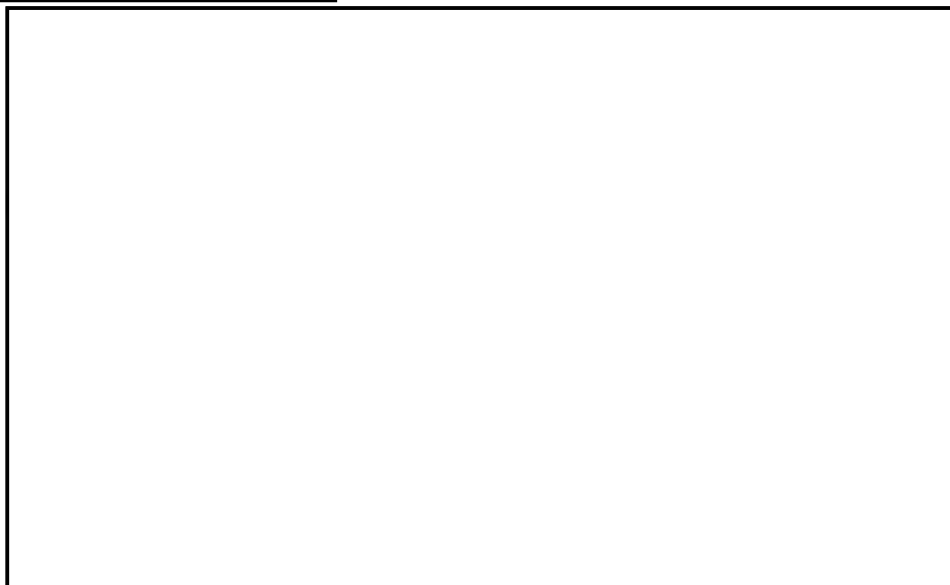


WJW/crv



"Big Man"

[redacted]
[redacted] while he was in Japan [redacted]
[redacted]

This sort of social oppression is not coming in an abstract way. It is a concrete phenomenon in our sick society. I can not stress too much the fact that the intolerable persecution imposed upon the Negroes are beyond our description compared with that of the whites. In this view, the Negroes should be the advanced guard in the new left movement.

The whites must be clearly mindful of this and wage a struggle not just because the Negroes are so oppressed that the whites rise up to rescue the Negroes but because the whites are also oppressed too. As so it is that the whites are struggling because they are oppressed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-27-2007 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

b2
b6
b7C
OTHER O/S

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 12/24/69

FROM : *Hof* Legat, Tokyo

SUBJECT:

[Redacted]

- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ELBERT HOWARD

RM
(TOKfile 157-17) (RUC)

ROBERTA ALEXANDER

RM
(TOKfile 157-18) (RUC)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

ReBulets 11/24 and 12/5/69.

[Redacted]

No further inquiry is being made relative to subjects ELBERT HOWARD and ROBERTA ALEXANDER in that they are no longer in Japan and their activities have been reported upon to the Bureau.

In the event anything additional is received, it will be forwarded to the Bureau.

- 11 - Bureau (Enc. 11) **ENCLOSURE**
(4 - San Francisco) (Enc. 4) (157- HOWARD)
(157-ALEXANDER) **NOT RECORDED**
(1 - Liaison Section) (Enc. 1)
5 - Tokyo

133 JAN 30 1970

RVP:fo
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AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO, P, E, U, C, D

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW:

BY:

3 JAN 8 1970

RECEIVED



5010-108-02

59 FEB 11 1970

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1-80-1

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-163706-84-280

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b2
b6
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OTHER O/S

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 11/28/69

FROM : Legat, Tokyo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-27-2007 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

SUBJECT:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

5-1
2/24
ca

ELBERT HOWARD
RM
(TOKfile 157-17) (P)

ROBERTA ALEXANDER
RM
(TOKfile 157-18) (P)

[REDACTED]

- 35 - Bureau (Enc 35) *10*
(1 - Bufile [REDACTED])
(2 - [REDACTED])
(4 - Seattle) [REDACTED]
(10 - San Francisco) (157- Howard)
(157- Alexander)

(4 - WFO [REDACTED]) (4 - Alexandria [REDACTED])

(1 - Liaison Sect [REDACTED])
9 - Tokyo (1 - [REDACTED])

RVP:fo
(44)



5010-108-02

56 JAN 13 1970

REC-94

NOT RECORDED
167 JAN 7 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Tokyo

157-17, 157-18,

b2
b6
b7C
OTHER O/S

ReBulet 10/22/69.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau and recipient offices are 35 copies of an LHM dated as above and captioned "ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION IN JAPAN CONCERNING THE NEW LEFT MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES."

Tokyo will continue to report on foreign New Left activities.



b6
b7c

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

November 28, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-27-2007 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION IN JAPAN CONCERNING THE
NEW LEFT MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The following article appeared in the "Asahi Journal"
Magazine, October 5, 1969, edition. The "Asahi Journal" is a
Japanese-language magazine published in Tokyo, Japan.

ROUND-TABLE TALK

THE TREND OF THE NEW LEFT MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

- From Liberation Struggle to Class Struggle -

Editor's Note:

- As a logical consequence, the
trend of new left movement in the
U.S. is moving toward a class
struggle from a civil rights
struggle (since 1960), anti-
Vietnam war struggle and libera-
tion struggle.

- Black Panther Party members and
White radicals discussed the
trend of the new left movement
in America.

Participants in the Round-Table Talk

Big Man, member of Black Panther Party



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ENCLOSURE

100-449169-29X

ENCLOSURE

157-16182-1

[REDACTED]
Roberta Alexander, member of Black Panther Party
[REDACTED]

SNAKE BITING STRUGGLE

[REDACTED]
Gentlemen, as participants in this discussion meeting, you are engaging in many ways, in various new left movements in America. It may safely be said that we, the Japanese, can grasp the meaning of the left movement in America during the period from the time when Stokely Carmichael asserted black power up to 1967. However, particularly of late, the new left movement in America has split into several factions and disunited. It is very hard for outsiders to trace the trend of the left movement in America.

It is our desire to learn what is happening in the U. S. left movement these days and what will be the future course of the movement. We would like to hear your frank comment on the new left movement in America.

Big Man

Our party, Black Panther Party, was organized in October 1966. Hughie P. Newton is the founder of the Party, who is the defense minister of our party. Newton was arrested on account of his political activities. He is now in a jail in California serving an indeterminate sentence from one year to fifteen years.

Bobbie Seale, co-founder of Black Panther Party, is also in jail. He was arrested on a preposterous charge of a murder case. When I came to Japan, I was informed that

he was transferred from a California jail to a Chicago jail. There is a strong possibility that Seale may be indicted once more in Chicago on a charge of inciting a riot in Chicago - the so-called 1968 Chicago Democratic Party convention riot.

When Seale was transferred from California to Chicago, the U. S. law enforcement authorities did not notify Seale's lawyer in advance. This is an unmistakable violation of his U. S. constitutional rights.

Newton and Seale are the founders of the Black Panther Party. They are also students at the University of California. They have watched the Negro movement, especially the civil rights movement with great concern. It was when the Negro movement was thwarted by vicious fascist oppression that Newton and Seale made up their mind to fight for the Negro within the frame-work of the U. S. Constitution.

When they organized the Black Panther Party, they declared the so-called 10 party platforms. One of the most important and urgent points in the platforms is that the police has been committing unpardonable criminal acts of persecution against Negro societies in America.

The U. S. Constitution guarantees the people the right to carry weapons. Newton studied the laws carefully and they know what acts are lawful or unlawful. They began to watch policemen's activities in the black communities in the light of unlawful or lawful acts.

Whenever Negroes were arrested or persecuted by U. S. law enforcement authorities, they appeared on the spots and witnessed every movement of the police. When they detected that the police acts were unlawful, they explained to the police that their activities were in violation of the laws. In this manner they used a "weapon of laws." The U. S. law enforcement authorities disliked the activities of the black leaders and began to suppress the Black Panther Party.

The 10 party platforms were not written by Newton as he pleased. Before he wrote the platforms, he interviewed more than 1,000 Negroes in the black communities and asked their opinion and comment on the platforms. It is said that only one of 1,000 Negroes interviewed objected to the platforms.

The Black Panther Party moved forward further to advocate the basic rights of Negroes in black communities. The activities of the Black Panther Party immediately attracted a large number of people in the streets. Many proletarians began to support the Black Panther Party and they felt that they have close relations with the Black Panther Party. They discovered themselves that they are deeply involved in the activities of the Black Panther Party.

In spite of the suppression by the police, the strength of the Black Panther Party has been on the upswing with a step-up rate of growth. The more suppressed the party, the stronger the party becomes.

In response to the appeals from political and social circles, the Black Panther Party established 45 branches in America. The party has launched an ambitious program to feed hungry people. The United States is supposed to be the richest country in the world. Nevertheless, an appalling number of Negro children are starving in a so-called affluent society. The party began to feed free breakfasts to these starving children.

The panthers are organizing free medical centers for the poor Negroes. The free medical centers treat poor Negroes without charge. These medical centers serve for the Negro patients, at the same time these medical centers are used for educating the poor Negroes on how we are desperately in need of socialism. Free service for the poor such as free medical service is a contradictory concept to a capitalistic system. The poor Negroes will find themselves that the socialistic system is superior to the capitalistic system.

The panthers have been educating themselves since the foundation of the party. The panthers studied Maoism, and Marx-Leninism. We realized the fact that any action without foundation of theory or philosophy tend to be adventurous undertakings.

The panthers' struggles are closely tied with black communities. However, our basic principled stand is a class struggle. Our party is not an ethnic party. The panthers are now planning class struggle strategy. It has dawned upon the people that the panthers' strategy is not racially oriented. Although our struggle is a class struggle, however, the activities of the panthers are closely connected with various ethnic groups.

Our party is not yet three-year-old. Nevertheless, the panthers, equipped with our ideals, are fighting vigorously against social contradictions. Also very significant was the fact that 22 panthers were murdered by the police.

The panthers established close relations with white radical groups in America. In order to achieve our goal- revolution, it became obvious to us that not only Negro society but also white society should have revolution.

The panthers also established close solidarity ties with foreign revolutionary governments. We realized that in order to fight against imperialists effectively, we should be united as one body with other revolutionary groups such as the Vietnamese people who are fighting against imperialists. There can be no doubt that our victory depends upon the indomitable foreign revolutionary fighters who are struggling against imperialists with burning hatred for the enemy uncompromisingly. American imperialists stretched out their tentacles of aggression to the whole world like an octopus' legs. We seem to be fighting in a jungle which is swarming with snakes.

The panthers are crying out that the criminal acts of trampling underfoot the basic human rights of the people by imperialists should be stopped at once. The world has become a united body. We should endeavor to establish a communication channel throughout the world so that we, revolutionaries, can communicate among ourselves freely. The peoples of the world are fighting against our common enemy with firm unity.

DISCUSSION ON THE CLASS FORMATION

One of the most important phenomenon in the white radical movement is that recently the movement has become more revolutionary and extreme. During the period of civil rights movement, the basic theme was to make America a better living society. They employed non-violent strategy to achieve their goal. They exerted themselves as hard as possible to form high-pressure organizations. They also worked hard to awaken the people to the reality.

In order to achieve the goal of civil rights movement, the civil rights workers applied pressure to U. S. authorities for integrating Negroes into white societies.

When a radical revolutionary political movement of the Negro came to the fore and became powerful since 1966, the people began to realize that the war in Vietnam is a link in the chain of American imperialist machinations. We may call this new radical movement as the new left movement in the United States. In the course of new left movement, we began to think of achieving our goal in terms of a revolution. In other words we deem it necessary to have a revolution in attaining our target.

This new left movement, however, brought about many thorny problems. These difficult problems are very much new to the new left movement activists. One of the most difficult problems is to instill a new concept to the word "revolution". The word "revolution" has been abused

by old leftists as an ideological concept or as an illusion that was conceived after suffering of personal persecution.

Only at a time when we realize keenly the necessity of a revolution, could we really understand the real meaning of the word "revolution" which was conceived as a day dream in the past; we feel "revolution" very close to ourselves.

Another problem is who will be the main constituent in a social reform movement. White radicals split into many factions and fight among themselves. It will be more difficult to resolve who will be the main constituent in a revolution. I am going to outline the activities of various factions in the new left movement:

1. Campus radicals

This group has been struggling in campuses and has become one of the most powerful elements in the new left movement in America. It probably is fair to say that Marxism can be interpreted in terms of a campus struggle. According to Marxism, the modern capitalist society created a management class. This class actually controls the modern capitalist society. Universities and colleges produce this class. There is reason to assume that if campus radicals succeed in making an ally of the management class, it may be easy to revolutionize modern capitalist society.

2. The third revolutionary force

This group insists that the third world revolutionary force should be the advanced guard in a modern world revolution. This group extends its struggle arena beyond the American campuses. They are supporting struggles which are waged by foreign third forces who are putting up revolutionary fights in various parts of the world. They strongly advocate that in order to realize a revolution in America, the white blue collar working class should take part positively in the revolution by sacrificing their special privileges for being the whites.

3. Progressive Labor Party (PL)

Progressive Labor Party is unique in the ranks of new leftists. They claim to be the advanced guard in the new left movement in the United States. They loathe being mingled with the masses. Their interpretation of a revolution runs like this: There is no racial discrimination in capitalist societies and the main constituent of a revolution should be ^{the} working class. The principled stand is such that they attack/Black Panther Party. They disregard the fact that Black Panther Party is a vanguard and the main constituent in the Negro revolution.

The first group (campus radicals) has been recruiting many intellectuals from campuses and business circles for five or six years.

The weatherman's (ph) faction of SDS has been expanding the membership with the white working class as its nucleus for five or six months. The above-mentioned two factions have not ^{yet} grown enough to challenge each other in the struggle for supremacy.

It is my personal observation that the factional disputes will continue and they will concentrate their effort in strengthening their organizations in years to come.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT FOR THE WHITES



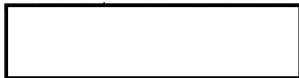
In the history of the white radical movement in the United States, the "Freedom Riders Movement" and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are the forerunners of the white radical movement. Later on the anti-Vietnam war movement came to the fore.


Our movement of today is, by its nature, closely connected with the 3rd world movement forces. If the 3rd world movement had not influenced the whites, the white radical movement in America would have become a nonsensical movement; a handful of white fools and crazies may have been printing newspapers and running around without a definite aim.

Without the struggle which was waged by the 3rd world forces, the white radical movement would not have become a real solid movement.

It is widely said that the Black Panther party is the advanced guard in the new left movement. We, nevertheless, should not lose sight of the fact that the Negro movement as a whole played an important role in our new left movement.

The Negroes have paved the way for the new left movement transferring from the non-violent-pacifist strategy to the revolutionary-violent strategy. It is true that at the moment the Black Panther Party is playing an advanced guard role and the 10 items of the platforms of the Black Panther Party clearly advocate the role of advanced guard.



I agree with  Historically speaking, the Negroes initiated the civil rights movement and led the movement to a revolutionary struggle.

We should keep in mind that if we emphasize too much on the Negro's role in our movement, it will have some adverse reactions on the Negro movement. In a revolution in America, the white class also should have a role to play.

The white class, in relation with the Negro class, has come to realize that white class has been an oppressor in America. Nonetheless, the guilty consciousness alone can not solve our problems.

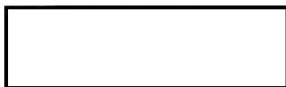
It is true that because of the guilty consciousness, most of the whites took part in the civil rights movement in the past. These whites were the liberals and they participated in the civil rights movement in the hope that they could make up for their past oppression against the Negroes. In this view point these whites were ideologists.


Most important of all, we should not forget that the civil rights movement was followed by the revolutionary movement. There can be no doubt that it took a long time to make our new movement more meaningful and tangible.

It may be significant to note that the American society has had no concept of the radical movement. In this vein, it probably is fair to say that the action preceded the conception.

The white radical activists, although they were not aware of it, were not free at all. The inference is that the new left movement started to seek freedom for the whites themselves. In the later stage the new left movement has ^{been} transformed into a kind of movement that has no boundary of class and race.

We can not wage our movement on the basis of guilty consciousness. We should have our fixed common goal - liberation.



Allow me to cite a few concrete examples in regard to what  said. The white middle class finally came to be aware of the fact that they were also exploited. The war in Vietnam gave them impetus to awaken themselves.

How do individuals get involved in the war in Vietnam? The answer, in a less abstract way, is the "draft." Because of the draft the whites came to realize that they are an oppressed class too. When the anti-draft movement began to spread all over the country, they resisted, not in the form of what Stokely Carmichael called "we refuse to go," but in a more or less passive way - escaping or consulting. The whites are now engaging in the anti-draft movement in a big and positive way. This is the whole story of the whites' resistant movement against the draft.

To say more frankly, at a time when the white middle class youths were forced the draft for the first time, they began to ponder their position in the American society.

FREEDOM IN A CONCRETE TERM

Roberta Alexander

Except for [REDACTED] two other gentlemen spoke the freedom and liberation in a more abstract way. From the standpoint of the Black Panther Party, the problems in the black communities are not abstract. It is not necessary for Negroes who are in need of a revolution to seek freedom in a abstract term.

Permit me to give you a concrete example in this regard. The American Negroes - not only Negroes but also Mexican, Latin, Japanese and Chinese Americans in the United States are confronted with the American police brutality.

The American society has not changed since the time of slavery. In the slavery days, after dark whenever the whites found Negroes in the streets, they arrested the Negroes as fleeing Negroes and detained them in police cells until the white owners appeared to take them back. This sort of phenomena are the order of the day, these days. It is not too much to say that practically all the poor Negroes have experienced police persecution one way or another.

The Negroes were arrested and detained on preposterous charges. There was neither investigation nor countermeasure whatsoever. The cold-blooded atrocities committed by the police was written in the annals of human slaughter.

Also very significant was the fact that the Negro youths ranging from 19 to 24 years old are unemployed. Some Negro youths who are lucky enough to work, have insignificant jobs and the wages are very low. It is simply deplorable that the percentage of the Negro draftees are overwhelmingly higher than that of the whites; not to speak of the Negro war death rate in Vietnam.

Although the white students and intellectuals are talking about freedom in an abstract way, the Negroes, most of the white workers and the non-white Americans are keenly feeling the oppression imposed upon them by the exploiting class.

I must point out the fact that the white students and intellectuals are the privileged class in our society. They are troubled with tricky capitalistic values and ideas. They must realize that the revolution in America should be materialized for the American masses and by the American masses. Their knowledge and capacity should be utilized for the American masses after the revolution. Their knowledge should not be indulged in seeking their liberation in an abstract way.

Big Man

We should lead our discussion in the light of the fact that the Negroes have been slaves for more than 400 years. We should focus our attention on the oppression and misery in which the Negroes have been suffering.

The persons, who can not agree that the Negroes, especially the panthers should be the main constituent in a revolution in America, should study about the fact more closely. The panthers have been concerned on how to educate the whites.

The panthers are educating the whites on how important the class struggle is to them; not only the Negroes but also the whites are oppressed and exploited in a capitalist society. It is true that even in the era of civil rights movement, several whites were murdered.



I think Big Man epitomized our arguments very well. I would like to add a few words. We should not forget the shuddering atrocities inflicted upon the Negroes committed by the ruling class in America. The injuries inflicted upon the whites, compared with those of the Negroes, are meager and insignificant.

There are reasons to believe that the Negroes especially the panthers should be the main constituent in the American revolution. The whites should realize that they have been oppressed too. The white workers have been alienated from the products for which they worked.

The white students are forced to learn the oppressive technique of management control in colleges and universities. Whenever the white students refuse to receive the lessons of oppressive technique and try to learn the knowledge on how to seek freedom and contribute to the world, then the colleges and universities turn into jails.

The white students, after graduation, have no choice but to get jobs either in a oppressive organization or in a white collar society that is alienated from the products for which all the workers are working. In an extreme case, the white students are compelled to get jobs which are completely alienated from the process of labor.

It is no exaggeration to say that the white university graduates are becoming a part of a vending machine. To cite a good example, when a junior college graduate becomes a secretary in a company, it is just like becoming a typewriter in that company.

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